DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 124 679 UD 016 139

AUTHOR	Gordon, Edmund W.; And Others
TITLE	Desegregation (Orangeburg, South Carolina).
INSTITUTION	Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. ERIC Clearinghouse on the Urban Disadvantaged.
SPONS AGENCY	National Center for Educational Communication (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	72
GRANT	OEG-71-3946
NOTE	33p.; For full report, see ED 099 458; Part of project entitled Preparation of Publications on Progress in Compensatory Education and Desegregation Programs
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Advisory Committees; Case Studies; *Community Involvement; Integration Effects; *Integration Methods; Integration Plans; Integration Readiness; *Integration Studies; *Parent Participation; Parent Workshops; School Districts; *School Integration; School Personnel; School Zoning; Teacher Workshops
IDENTIFIERS	*South Carolina (Orangeburg)

ABSTRACT

Orangeburg, South Carolina implemented a court approved geographical zoning plan and a plan clustering and pairing schools for the 1971-72 school year. All school staffs currently reflect the district's racial population. In the process of unifying the school district, numerous meetings and workshops that involved students, staff and the community were held. A 40-member district wide Citizens Advisory Committee, formed in 1970, reflects the racial and socioeconomic makeup of the community as do numerous other schools and program citizen committees. Human relations sessions have done a great deal to increase understanding and reduce tension. Through judicious use of various funding sources, the district has initiated a student advocate counseling activity; para professional aides; an organized community volunteer program; and a monthly newsletter. In meeting the four requirements of school desegregation--preparation, effective communications, firm policy enunciation and support, and educational innovations in service to children--Orangeburg is considered to be one of the more successful in the country, despite the fact that it is not free of problems. (Author/JM)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED124679

DESEGREGATION

(Orangeburg, South Carolina)

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

UD016139

Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged
Hoarce Mann-Lincoln Institute
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

1972

This document was produced as part of the project entitled Preparation of Publications on Progress in Compensatory Education and Desegregation Programs which was funded by the U.S. Office of Education, Dissemination Center for Educational Communication (OEG-71-3946). Points of view or opinions expressed in this material do not necessarily represent the official view or opinions of the U.S. Office of Education.

Edmund W. Gordon, Project Director
Carolyn Ralston Brownell, Project Coordinator
Jenne K. Brittell, Project Editor

Preface

In efforts at improving the quality of education and at justifying expenditures for compensatory education and school desegregation, we are increasingly dependent upon the data of evaluative research. Yet the data from many of these evaluation efforts conducted over the past twelve years are confused and inconclusive. The findings from these studies are sometimes contradictory. The interpretations have become the subject of considerable controversy, particularly as these findings and interpretations appear to contradict some of our cherished assumptions concerning education and educability. The lack of clarity with respect to the meaning of these data and the value of such programs is in part attributable to a variety of problems in the design and conduct of evaluative research. Among these problems, increasing attention is being called to the fact that there are sparse data concerning the specific nature of program interventions. These tend to be reported under labels or brief descriptions which provide little information relative to the nature and quality of the treatments to which the pupils studied are exposed. In an effort at gaining a better understanding of the content and nature of some of these programs, this project was directed at describing selected programs thought to be exemplary of quality, progress, trends or problems in compensatory education and school desegregation. Ten compensatory education programs and two school desegregation programs were selected for detailed description.

The principal procedures utilized in this study included documentary

analysis, direct observation of programs and interviews with selected informants. The tasks to be accomplished included identification and selection of projects to be studied, collection of all available data on each project considered, field study of promising candidate projects, preparation of descriptive reports, final selection and reporting.

Following is the description of one of these selected programs. For the complete report of this project see document number ED 099 458 in the ERIC system.

Introduction

Orangeburg, South Carolina Unified School District #5 implemented a court approved geographical zoning plan in 1970-71, and, in compliance with Swann, et. al. v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, et. al. and Davis v. School District of Pontiac, Inc., a plan clustering and pairing schools for the 1971-72 school year. Of the district's 7,000 students 4,700 are bused under this plan (compared with 2,700 previously). Many faculty members were reassigned, and all school staffs currently reflect the district's racial population; five of the eleven principals are black. In the process of unifying the school district, numerous meetings and workshops that involved students, staff and the community were held. A 40-member district-wide Citizens Advisory Committee, formed in 1970, reflects the racial and socioeconomic makeup of the community as do numerous other schools and program citizen committees. Human relations sessions have concentrated on communication skills in interpersonal relationships and have done a great deal to increase understanding and reduce tension. Through judicious use of various funding sources, the district has initiated a student advocate counseling activity; instructional, lunchroom, and clerical aides to free teacher time for teaching; an organized community volunteer program; and a monthly newsletter. One example of the educational innovations that have developed indirectly through the unification process is the continuous progress program of the elementary schools. A superintendent and a board committed to carry out the plan in good faith and to provide quality education appear to have created an atmosphere that gives pause to many whites who had placed their children in private academies to avoid desegregation. The numerous public school-related activities outlined above

have contributed to the creation of an environment of mutual activist concern for the education of all the district's children.

Setting

The town of Orangeburg is located on the Edisto River, forty miles southeast of Columbia, South Carolina's major city. While the area was once predominantly agricultural, several light industries have come in in the last decade, diversifying the economic base. Two predominantly black colleges, Claflin and South Carolina State, provide Orangeburg with a sizeable black middle class and student population. The 13,200 people within the two boundaries are predominantly white. The boundaries have been drawn to maintain this situation, resulting in an all-white mayor and city council. The blacks who live in the town are concentrated near the college and in three or four neighborhoods, one of which is a middle-class neighborhood. School District #5, which includes the town, extends out into the county and has a population of approximately 20,000, 50% of whom are black. Forty to 45% of this population, many of whom are white, falls under the OEO poverty guidelines, and the county was designated one of four in the state to be included in a demonstration welfare project.

The "Orangeburg Massacre," in which three unarmed students were killed and twenty wounded by state troopers, occurred on the campus of South Carolina State in February, 1968. Despite the conservatism of many of the community's whites, this tragedy of 1968 led to the formation of a city-wide bi-racial human relations committee which served to increase formal channels of communication, dispell rumors,

and provide a forum for articulation of needs and frustrations, real as well as imagined. This city committee was, in some ways, a forerunner to the community input into District #5 as its first co-chairman is now chairman of the five-member Board of Trustees and many of its members serve on the Citizens Advisory Committee. Two of the five members of the Board are black; both were reelected to their two-year terms by large majorities in April, 1972. The board operated under an unwritten policy that any member who chooses to send his-her children to a private academy resigns.

This unwritten policy was necessitated by the growth of private academies in Orangeburg since 1963. Approximately 1500 students have left the public schools for these private academies, 1200 of them since 1969. Some of these students attend on "scholarships" provided by affluent opponents of desegregated education. This trend has affected the public school system in innumerable ways; in addition to a loss of per-pupil state funds and the demoralizing effect of losing the support of a large percentage of the white "establishment," the black-white ratios in the schools have moved from 52% white in 1964 to 32% white in 1972.

There is not a great deal of socializing between those who send their children to private academies and those who send theirs to public schools. Neither is there much black-white socializing outside of formal meetings, and strictly segregated neighborhood patterns do not encourage such friendships. In that sense Orangeburg is a typical small town where everyone knows everyone else and the traditional barriers to free interaction are respected by everyone.

The public school system serves approximately 7,000 students and includes seven

elementary schools, divided into two 1-2, two 3-4, two 5-6 and one 1-6 schools; one seventh grade school; one eighth grade school; one 9-10 school and one 11-12 school. Half of these schools were built just outside the city limits to accommodate their formerly all black populations. Most elementary schools are constructed on a corridor-plan with four classrooms on each corridor and easy access to the outside. Portables have been used at some schools at both the elementary and secondary levels for a number of years. School buildings appear to be in good repair; two that were not have been discontinued in the last several years.

Overview

Although the landmark decision of Brown v. Board of Education was decided in 1954, District 5 took no action to desegregate its schools until 1964. In that year the U.S. District Court ordered the district to initiate a freedom-of-choice plan, allowing any student to transfer from a school where his race was in a minority. However, the procedure for transfer was quite involved and, consequently, only 73 black students had entered all white schools in 1965. After a district court order in 1966 simplified procedures, the number increased to 294 in 1968-69.

Under a 1969 court order the District proposed a plan based on geographical zoning. This plan, actualized in 1970-71, proved unsatisfactory in that many whites used evasive devices to change their place of residence. As a result, there were cases in which white parents, who were complying with the ruling in good faith, found their child the only white child in a classroom. Some of these parents formed an organization, Help Orangeburg Public Education (HOPE) which began as a protest to the school board to get them

to propose a more reasonable plan. However, the efforts of the District to counter such transferals were unsuccessful, and some nearly all-black and all-white schools remained. Pursuant to the Swann and Davis ruling, the superintendent and school board in July, 1971, proposed a plan for the clustering and pairing of schools within the district. Under this plan, two large elementary school zones were formed, each containing three schools, one at each two-grade level. The most central school in each zone was made the 1-2 school on the theory that more children would be within walking distance to this school. One central-city school was left as a 1-6 school since its population roughly reflected the racial distribution of the area. All four secondary schools would serve the entire community. The chaos caused by constant transferring ended with the implementation of this plan, and the HOPE members were far more satisfied with the new plan.

This legal background does not reflect the preparation which the district administration had the foresight to initiate. Beginning in 1969-70, prior to the first major thrust to desegregate all schools, workshops were help for staff members to tackle anticipated problems. Unfortunately, only about half of the staff could be included in these early sessions. Nearly all attending agree that the workshops did increase understanding and reduce personal tensions about the anticipated change. In the succeeding summer of 1970, faculty workshops were held on communication skills, learning styles of students and methods and materials for multi-ethnic groups. This pre-school preparation was considered invaluable by the participants, many of whom were reassigned to new schools under the geographical zoning plan.

The inter-school visitations and "open houses" organized for students and staff in

April and May, 1970, were the only preparatory activities that directly affected all elementary students and families. In December, 1970, however, secondary students began to attend 1-1/2 day human relations conferences. At these sessions, consultants from the University of South Carolina's Desegregation Center trained community members to serve as group facilitators. Each group had a white and a black facilitator. For this first conference the 91 student participants (who had been recommended by the Student Executive Board) included leaders, regular students and students with obvious prejudices and problems. Parental approval was necessary, and any student could choose not to participate. During the half-day orientation session, groups of 8-10 students were formed by multiplying diads of students who didn't know one another, goals for the following day were set and plans for the following day were discussed. In the day-long sessions which followed, community facilitators periodically initiated activities and exercises to stimulate communication. The day concluded with a total group meeting during which the groups shared feelings, activities, and recommendations.

Since this first human relations conference, several others have been held for youth in grades 9-12, the most recent in March, 1972. Student response to these sessions has been overwhelmingly positive; students comment on their new ability to listen to and respect others' opinions; their inclination to talk freely and discuss prejudice openly, their realization that the first step in facing a problem is for both sides to open up and understand each other; their awareness that individuals often imagine a problem, i.e. white misunderstanding of black hostility toward the confederate flag and black misunderstanding of white feeling toward the clenched fist

salute. In later sessions, discussion tended to focus more on the lack of communication with school administrators and the irrelevancy of school. Recommendations made by the groups at all sessions strongly emphasize the need for total participation and parent and faculty involvement in such sessions. However, most students do not want to be in groups with their own parents because they realize that they are far more willing to open up and discuss issues frankly than are their parents. The community facilitators appeared quite impressed by the student efforts to get to the cause of the problems and by the new perspective on things which inevitably results from a successful conference of this sort.

After the July, 1971, court order, preparations were quickly made for a pre-school three-day conference at a nearby resort-motel; attendees included forty student leaders from both high schools, faculty, administrators and community representatives. Again the Desegregation Center provided consultants. The purpose of this conference was to discuss concerns resulting from the merger such as school colors, mascots, student councils and class officers and proceedings. Students selected twelve such major concerns, "brainstormed" in small groups and reached "suggestive" decisions to recommend to the student body. Free time for socializing, swimming, or just "rapping" was provided. This conference, funded by ESAP, is credited by many as a major factor in the smooth merger of the high schools.

The city-wide Citizens Advisory Committee, which had been organized a year prior to the issuance of the court order, provided a diversified community group familiar with school-related issues and serving as a link between the community and the board and administration. Since communication gaps were frequent and

rumors did abound, this group was pivotal in assuring that information was available within the community.

Other steps taken prior to the unification which helped prepare staff were visits by staff to exemplary programs, frequent inservice sessions - often with visiting consultants available, and increased number of aides. Secondary students, especially those experiencing frustration at school, were helped by interventionist counselors. The four-page monthly newsletter "Scope," inaugurated in 1970-71, has provided information on total school programs to the community.

Project Operation

"Continuous Progress" is the name given to the plan initiated in all elementary schools in 1971-72. The plan groups children according to learning capacities in different areas and encourages individualization within each classroom. Team teaching is utilized to facilitate the flexible grouping required and to provide children with various teaching styles and approaches. In theory, "Continuous Progress" allows each pupil to progress as rapidly as his own ability permits through sequential skills development. In practice, most teachers and principals believe that they have become more cognizant of individual learning styles and more able to help individual children at individual levels. But the process of implementing continuous progress varies slightly from school to school.

Principals appear to have a greater degree of autonomy here than in many systems as they work with their teachers to implement the continuous progress program. The two-graded schools facilitate this implementation in several ways. Because they

provide a large population of similar-aged children, it is easier to group four classes along one corridor for team teaching and to group same-aged children in a variety of ways. Moreover, with faculties who all teach same-aged youngsters in one building, "content" discussions on actualization of the plan are much more easily initiated, both on formal and informal levels. In some classrooms, particularly at the lower levels, the learning center approach has been initiated with a great deal of time spent in small groups and in individual activity. Classroom aides have helped to facilitate this kind of activity; however, teachers feel that there are not enough aides to individualize the classroom as much as they would like. Teacher-student ratio is approximately 1:28. Two-level classes and groupings have been initiated in some schools, and it appears that this trend will continue as teachers become more secure with the new approach.

Ability grouping in certain subject areas has led to a situation where some groups do not reflect the district-wide racial ratio. The high correlation between ability and socio-economic variables fosters the placement of blacks in low ability groups and whites in high ability groups in some schools. In other schools with a substantial black middle class population this situation has not developed. The corrective reading classes are occasionally all black, as are some of the special education classes. However, flexible grouping in the regular team-teaching situation does provide an opportunity for children to be in classes which more accurately reflect the district-wide ratio for most of the day. The attention placed on not "labeling" a child, which is a theoretical underpinning to the continuous progress effort, gives warning to those who might label a black child as permanently "slow" or "underachieving."

Supported by most of the elementary-level staff, team teaching is facilitated by the physical layout of most buildings: the four classrooms along each corridor provide both teachers and students with an established area of interaction. Some team teaching has been initiated at the junior high school level and here, too, it appears to have evolved from the staff desire to individualize instruction and capitalize on individual teacher abilities.

The four secondary schools in the system attempt to provide alternatives within the system for each student. Desegregation of schools at this level is frequently frought with tension and crisis; Orangeburg has made a relatively smooth transition. Since students are grouped for academic areas and since special Title I reading services are provided for some "educationally deprived" students, a certain amount of resegregation occurs here also. Again, the presence of a large number of middle class blacks along with some low-income whites in the system means that, although the lower ability and "special" classes tend to be predominantly black, the middle and upper ability groups are rarely, if ever, all white.

Guidance services at all four schools have become increasingly diverse, generally offering group "rap" sessions as well as individual counseling. Inter-school communication among secondary schools, through both formal and informal channels, appears to be constant and substantive. Each spring, guidance counselors from the 11-12 school spend several days at the 9-10 school; at that time they register students and provide information about their next school. Counselors at the 9-10 and 8 school do the same with the lower school. Counselors have not, as yet, initiated regular meetings among themselves, although they acknowledge that such communication

would be desirable. The small size of the community further aids inter-school communication.

The "openness" of the 11-12 school attests to a trust that the students at this level can handle the responsibility of some "non-programmed" time without disrupting the entire school. Student council, based on homeroom representation, reflects the racial percentages fairly accurately and has been a cohesive force in the initial year of unification: its effectiveness is, in part, the result of its role, albeit minor, in the administration of the school. Joint officers served in 1971-72 because both high schools had elected officers prior to the July court order; this system seems to have worked smoothly, and neither group of officers dominated the council. An ESAP advisory group of approximately eight students has been formed at each secondary school, these groups meet with administration and with citizen committees and have helped to keep communication lines open to students. In the initial period of desegregation, the extra-curricular activity which most directly contributed to a sense of unity was a football team that captured the state championship. Football is the major sport in the area, and the cohesiveness which developed in the school and the community as the season progressed was a great morale booster at the year's beginning. All extra-curricular activities are desegregated from cheerleaders through interest clubs, although they are not all reflective of district-wide ratios.

While the transition at the secondary level has been a smooth one, there is some muted racial hostility present at both high schools that could erupt at the slightest provocation. This may be as much a result of national political, sociological and

ethnic trends as of factors unique to Orangeburg. While human relations conferences serve to change perspectives, increase communication, and minimize provocations, they are unlikely to extirpate such hostility.

Interventionist counselors were first hired during the 1970-71 school year to serve as student advocates on the secondary level. Three such counselors were working in the spring of 1972: two men at the 9-11 level and one women at the 7-8 level. However, in practice, they did not limit their activity to grade levels. While these people work closely with guidance counselors, they have maintained a position separate from the administration, and the students respect them as true student advocates. The three men who have held such positions, two blacks and one white, have all been professional athletes, a factor which has enhanced their reputation among the secondary school students. These counselors spend much of their efforts in social work-type activities such as visiting families and working with agencies. This is one example of an activity initiated in relation to desegregation that proved to be a necessary service in terms of student needs regardless of desegregation.

This counselor activity is one of a vast array of services that have recently been made possible by federal funding. Daily corrective reading sessions for approximately 500 elementary students constitute a major Title I project. The corrective reading teachers, working with a variety of materials, evaluate individual children's reading problems, identify areas in which to focus, and continually reevaluate each child. A developmental reading program operates at the 9-10 level for students reading below grade level. Here again, a wide range of materials, coupled with recorders

and other machines, are used in the effort to develop interest in reading while improving reading skills. Volunteer programs, organized by the ESAP funded coordinator, focus on one-to-one reading tutoring at several levels.

Project Succeed attempts to reach potential dropouts at the secondary level and involve them in a pre-vocational experience, gearing the "skills" taught to this experience. Numerous aides work in the district, funded under Title I and ESAP. While some work in classrooms assisting teachers to individualize their classes, others work in lunchrooms, on buses and in clerical positions. Title I funded summer programs have been operating in the district for several years.

An elementary school social worker and a health-medical program are also funded under Title I. The social worker, a black woman, attempts to work with the entire environment of the child in a manner that does not attach any social class stigma to the child or to the family. She is making inroads in the delicate areas of providing children with sufficient clothing and encouraging parental involvement in children's educational efforts. A special class for first graders who were not communicating in the regular classroom has been one of her major projects as she talks with the teacher, observes the children and acts as a liaison with the family. The health services have also been important for these children; many have had their first post-birth contact with doctors. Under the health program, applicable to all Title I children, eyeglasses, as well as emergency medical and dental services, are provided. Preventive screening is also a part of this component.

In addition to the counseling, dissemination, aides, community involvement and human relations programs, ESAP funds also support staff in-service activities, a physical

facility for high school counseling, and after school activity personnel.

The presence of an ESEA Title III Early Childhood Education center attests to District 5's commitment to seeking funding for quality, innovative projects. This program, in which participation is voluntary, includes some first grades as well as kindergartens. Increasing numbers of white parents are enrolling their children in this special project which has a population of roughly 50% black students. Initiated in 1969, the project serves as a training center for teachers. Parents are encouraged to participate in the classroom at least one hour per week, and the curriculum stresses social adjustment as well as readiness and skills development.

Since a large part of District 5 is rural, many students have ridden school buses for years. Of the approximately 4700 students riding buses in 1971-72, 2700 were doing so in 1970-71. Although the average one-way bus trip is about 35 minutes, some students do ride for 80 minutes. The small size of the district coupled with the dispersion of students from one area to as many as seven different schools has created the unfortunate situation where 40% of the students bused have to change buses in mid-route. Secondary school students serve as bus aides and have helped to alleviate any problems in connection with this transferring process, but all in the district recognize it as an unfortunate situation.

Of the 45 bus drivers, 41 are secondary school students, about 70% of them black and many of them female. Student bus aides are frequently promoted to drivers when they pass the state's three-day training program. The two kindergarten bus drivers are women. In recent months, busing has become a national issue; yet little furor exists in District 5, despite the busing of more than 50 percent of the students and the

presence of anti-school desegregation forces.

Bus routes include white as well as black students; thus children of both races are in contact with each other all day. With the younger children in the grade 1-2 schools there appears to be little or no racially created tensions, and they play together on the school playground. However, at higher age and grade levels integration appears to decrease. Again, the causes for this reach beyond Orangeburg and may, at this point in time, be inevitable. Many parents, both black and white, discourage their children from bringing home children from the other group, and from attending dances with them. At high school dances nearly all the students are black, a situation which is not surprising in the U.S. rural south of 1972. Within-school programs and activities have been unified smoothly, and rarely do incidents occur that are a direct result of racial hostilities; in a community such as Orangeburg, these are significant first year achievements.

Personnel

One hundred and sixty-nine (169) of Orangeburg District 5's 313 faculty members are black, and 144 are white. Over one half of the staff members were transferred to new schools in the academic years 1970-71 and 1971-72 as the district desegregated its staff and divided its schools into one or two grade levels. Of the seven elementary principals, three are black; the eighth grade school and the 9-10 grade school have black principals. The assistant principal at both junior high schools is of the opposite race from the principal, and there is one black and one white assistant principal at each high school. The guidance staff is similarly desegregated. The central admin-

istrative staff is predominantly white; only one assistant superintendent and the lunchroom supervisor are black. The central office situation has generated some hostility among the black faculty and seems unnecessary because of the number of qualified blacks in the district and the amount of planning that went into so many staffing decisions. One example of this planning is the provision of a male PE teacher for each elementary school of the opposite race than the principal, assuring that children at each school will be in daily contact with both a black and white male.

The relative degree of autonomy given to principals has resulted in various levels of inter-staff cooperation. Elementary school principals have, by and large, been extremely supportive of their staffs in implementing the continuous progress program, both in facilitating team teaching efforts by arranging for team planning times and in supporting individuals as they work with the new approach. All teams consist of both black and white teachers and a high degree of "team spirit" prevails. The more fragmented nature of teaching efforts at the secondary schools is evident in the reduced degree of staff "esprit de corps." In at least one secondary school there is a high degree of latent staff racial tension, and the lack of inter-racial communication is obvious to students.

Approximately one-half of the total staff have attended the human relations sessions, initiated in 1969-70. Although these were not considered a panacea for staff cooperation and although not all staff members are equally enthusiastic, it is not difficult to find teachers who credit these sessions with vastly reducing the potential for ethnic conflict through open discussion of attitudes engendered by racial differences and experiences. Involving most of the entire staff in such sessions would

probably alleviate the staff tensions evident at some secondary schools. Approximately ten teachers went from public school to private academies in 1971; these people would obviously have been counterproductive in public school efforts to increase racial cooperation. Some white teachers send their children to private academies, and a few black teachers have children in the lab school at South Carolina State. In the current atmosphere where public education is constantly on trial and its opponents sight any movement from it as lack of support, this situation is most regrettable.

When a white administrator let it be known that he planned to transfer his children to a private academy, the superintendent informed him that while "due process" would probably prevent him from being fired on these grounds, he could not see how the man could function effectively; the administrator resigned. Action-oriented commitment on the part of nearly all administrators and principals has established a psychological climate that is supportive of staff efforts, and apparent to students and parents.

Forty-eight percent of Orangeburg's teachers have MA's, a percentage much higher than that of South Carolina's other school districts. The variety of in-service sessions, workshops and consultant services made available to staff members for the period prior to and during initial unification aided in furthering an atmosphere of professionalism. These services dealt with everything from learning styles of students and methods and materials for multi-ethnic groups to specialized curriculum areas. Most teachers feel that they were prepared for their increasingly diverse student groups or that they know how to secure the assistance they might need to work with such groups.

Of the 70 aides, 46 serve as instructional aides; seven as reading aides; and the

remainder as lunchroom or clerical aides. Approximately 55% of these positions are filled by blacks. The great majority of both aides and teachers come from either Orangeburg or the immediate area and have grown up there. This has led to low teacher-turnover and to many informal staff links; this kind of stability coupled with the perspective gained by staff members at human relations sessions has led to a smooth staff desegregation process and a willingness to work to improve the quality of education for all District 5 schools.

Students

It was noted above that secondary school students were sensitive to situations of ethnic conflict between staff members. These secondary students have lived through an important period in racial relations in this country, particularly in their Southern region. As a result, many tend to be extremely aware of the prejudices and the hypocracies of the past and quite sophisticated at detecting traces of such feelings in the actions of their elders. Most students who attended human relations sessions recommended strongly that more teachers and parents attend such sessions, but not in groups with their own children. There is a freedom to associate between black and white in school-related activities that might shock and dismay many parents. This freedom, however, is restricted in a large sense to such activities and does not indicate that all students are entirely free of their own ethnically-related biases. However, the ability most students at the human relations conferences showed to get at the basis of personal prejudices or misconceptions does indicate that this generation is, for the most part, significantly different from the previous one.

At the early elementary ages, black and white students ride the buses and attend school together with no apparent manifestations of prejudice. This situation changes gradually as the youngsters realize the sociological framework in their community, a framework in which race cannot be ignored. The manageable size of the district may account in part for the ease with which students transferred to different schools under the 1970-71 and 1971-72 plans, but the willingness to accept, live with and even be challenged by the change on the part of many Orangeburg youngsters also contributed to the process.

Parents/Community

Orangeburg District 5 abounds in Citizen Advisory Committees. The forty member district-wide committee which reflects the socio-economic and racial diversity of the area was nominated in Spring, 1970, by a 6-member committee (three blacks and three whites) and approved by the Board. Some political diversity is reflected on this committee, with the NAACP represented and some members of the white establishment, though a number of whites resigned after the court order. Although the membership does include low-income individuals, there is an awareness that members must make sure these people are heard from since there is a tendency for middle-class verbalization to prevail. Although it is an "advisory" committee, its members do believe they can influence board policy; examples of suggestions made to and acted favorably on by the board include hiring lunchroom aides to release teacher time and inviting high school students to attend board meetings. Members are known in the community and frequently asked about school programs or about the "truth" of the latest rumor; consequently, they

make constant efforts to keep informed. The priorities stated by this group as the first year of unification draws to a close are: (1) to help continue ESAP funding which has been instrumental in fostering good relations among students; (2) to show the community that the public system is working and offers more while fighting monies being given to private academies; and (3) to acknowledge the possibility that the second year may be more difficult and to be adequately prepared to deal with that possibility.

Ad ESAP advisory committee is an offshoot of this larger body and works with the district office of federal funding in setting priorities. Parent Advisory Committees have been organized at each elementary school; some are actively involved in such issues as testing and releasing test results, others are concerned more with how monies are alloted and others have yet to become active beyond a minimal level. An eighty-member advisory committee acts on the secondary level, meeting at times with the ESAP student advisory committees in each school.

While Parent Teacher Organizations are active in only two schools, the level of parent involvement is slowly increasing in nearly all schools. Instead of all-school "open houses," many elementary schools conduct team open houses, giving the parents more of an opportunity to talk personally with other parents and with teachers in the context of a smaller group. Principals and teachers are realizing that classrooms should be open to parents; though this type of classroom visiting has increased, many parents still feel they are unwelcome and more effort is needed to increase this type of interaction.

Volunteers are one means of increasing interaction, and 85 such volunteers were

working at least once a week in an assigned capacity in April, 1972. One-fourth of these volunteers were black, and one-fourth were non-parents. Thirty work as junior high school individual reading tutors, a few work with the adjunct education program at the 9-10 school, and all elementary schools have several volunteers performing a variety of duties from clerical to instructional. The Community Involvement Coordinator, hired in the fall 1971, recruits, orients and maintains continuous contact with these volunteers and with the staff members who work with them. She has also succeeded in having community members work with classes as "resource" people in an area of expertise.

Funding

The District spent $3,645,518 for current operations in 1970-71 and has a 1971-72 budget of $3,950,000. These sums include special funds from outside sources. All busing and retirement costs assumed by the state are not included in the above figures. School system cost per student is computed at approximately $545 in 1970-71 and $600 in 1971-72. Title I funding in 1971-72 is approximately $542,000, Title IV $41,460, ESAP $327,429 and 45 $125,084.

Due to the system of accounting required by districts in South Carolina it is nearly impossible to separate the costs of "desegregation" out of the budget. Simplistically it could be stated that the Title IV, ESAP and 45 funds plus the monies spent on busing an additional 2,000 students constitute desegregation expenses. However, many of the services provided under these funds, particularly aides, counselors, community involvement and in-service, are services that have improved the level of education

provided irrespective of desegregation. Students, staff, and community acknowledge the essential nature of these services. Although the district is committed to maintaining these services, local funding could never adequately do so at the present level, and emphasis on a continued program of aggressive maintenance of and search for outside funding is essential.

Evaluation

The only objective evaluation data available for the district are medial scores on national achievement tests: on these tests, the results show Orangeburg students a bit lower than the state average (which is about four months below the national norm). The 1971 results for 467 fourth graders are from one to two months lower than the 1970 results for 621 fourth graders. This is not surprising since a number of upper class whites transferred to the private academies between the two testing periods. No efforts have been made in this first year to compare the performance level of pupils by ethnic group in an integrated situation to that in a segregated situation. This is, no doubt, a wise decision as the complex number of variables operating during this period would preclude the possibility of drawing conclusions regarding the effect of desegregation on test scores.

Problems

Although District 5 has admirably implemented the process of desegregating its schools, there are some areas in which efforts have not been adequate and to which attention must be drawn. Among the staff there remain vestiges of racism, both conscious and hidden. At the conscious level one can sight the secondary school staff who make inter-ethnic staff communication difficult, and the few teachers, black

and white, who view all students of the opposite race in terms of ethnic sterotypes. The evidences of racism which result from what has not been done and from perspectives not considered include the dearth of multi-ethnic curricula at the elementary level and the slow pace at which more attention is being given by all teachers, not just "black studies" teachers, to ethnic considerations in curricula. Also included here would be the ethnic makeup of the central office staff which includes only two blacks, one, the lunchroom supervisor, being rarely visible. Although the superintendent, the coordinator of federal projects and other central administrators are competent, committed and have the respect of most of the black community, black principals and teachers believe that equally competent blacks could have been easily located for these positions within the system and this belief appears to be justified.

As for desegregation issues which directly affect students, the situation whereby approximately 1900 children, many of them very young, change buses enroute to school is a most unfortunate one, and it appears that, given logistical and funding limitations, this situation will continue. Ability grouping, though done flexibly, both at the elementary and secondary levels, has resulted in some classes, predominantly black, of all low ability children with the concomitant problems of teacher attitude and impediments to progress. The one and two-grade schools which can be considered less than desirable, appear to be viewed positively by both principals and teachers at the elementary level, with mixed emotions by the secondary staff; parents can be heard to complain when they have four children in four different schools. The students themselves, however, seem to be unaffected by such discussions.

Orangeburg is a community with a history of racial tensions, many of which remain.

The "white flight" to private academies and the support given to these academies by members of the white establishment has had a debilitating effect both financially and morally on the public system. Rumors of "lack of discipline" in the schools are often fostered by those who support the private academies in an effort to justify their actions on non-prejudiced grounds. To an outside observer it appears that District 5 schools have the barest minimum of discipline problems, and, although citizen committee members help to keep the community informed on this account, such rumors persist. The second and third years of the unified system will be crucial ones in terms of percentage of white students; while there is a good chance that some whites may return to the public schools, there is also the possibility that more whites will leave. The increased openness of the schools will, most desirably, bring more people in to observe and take a voice in their children's education as one way of mobilizing community support; as yet, the response to this openness has been relatively slight.

Why Is It Exemplary?

To say that the community members have not responded in significant numbers to the school's openness does not mean to imply that there is a lack of communication within the district. In fact, the presence of a sizable, articulate black middle class, the great majority of whom are educators, and a number of politically competent whites who feel strong commitment to public education were essential factors in the process of articulating needs and keeping communication lines open. The extent to which the 1968 tragedy contributed to the realization on the part of those whites who support a truly unified system that a more active involvement in the entire process

of actualizing the road to equal opportunity for blacks was called for can never be assessed. Most agree that it did "wake up" a number of people. The black middle class, while perhaps not representative of the entire black population, does include members who are in touch with most segments of this population, and is sophisticated in the kinds of political action required to bring about change. The April, 1972 school board election, in which the two blacks were returned to office with large majorities attests to the fact that these elements have combined to win the support of a large percentage of the community.

Although the final court order came just two months before implementation, preparation for a unitary plan began two years prior to this action. The human relations conferences, the advisory committees, the workshops, and all the other ESAP funded activities enumerated above began to involve staff, students and community in active, meaningful dialogue and to prepare them for the inevitability of unification. The Desegregation Center of the University was consulted wisely and often as were other resources, both local and regional. This amount of careful yet diversified advance preparation was an important factor in the smooth implementation of the plan.

Human Relations conferences, both those for staff and those for students with adult "facilitators" have been well-planned with a great deal of flexibility as possible, and are credited with a major role in creating and sustaining attitudes and perspectives relatively free of bias. It is essential that such sessions be held periodically to involve all secondary students and all staff members, and that these groups have a voice in planning the sessions.

Without a superintendent, staff and school board committed to the task of unifica-

tion, the above considerations could have been diffused into a lack of crystallized support. The three men who have held the superintendent's job over the past twenty years have accepted the fact of eventual unification and have taken an active stance in support of it as have school board members. The director of federal projects has been not only an active moral supporter, but an active fund raiser, making possible many of the preparatory and supplementary activities. These two people are representative of the personnel of the district. There are exceptions, of course, but this competence, coupled with a sensitivity to the factors which will make unification successful continue to be one of the District's strengths.

Effectiveness

Theorists and others who have studied school desegregation suggest several crucial requirements for any school desegregation program. Four of these elements are represented in the Orangeburg program. These are: (1) preparation for desegregation; (2) effective communications; (3) firm policy enunciation and support; and (4) educational innovations in service to children.

In regard to these requirements, Orangeburg is considered to be one of the more successful in the country, despite the fact that it is not free of problems. Apparently, considerable effort went into the preparation of the community, staff, and students for the implementation of mandatory desegregation. This is reflected in the establishment of a Citizens Advisory Committee, bi-racial council, humans relations sessions, newsletters, and open houses. The creation of an active and effective system of communications ensured that resistance and non-compliance to desegregation would not result

from misunderstanding or lack of information. The policy was clearly enunciated by the courts. Even more important, however, was the school board's firm endorsement of the policy as reflected in its serious effort at implementing a desegregation plan and in its decision that any board member unwilling to send his children to a desegregated school resign.

Probably more important than the bringing together of different ethnic and economic groups is what the school system does to change its educational programs to accommodate demographic changes in the school population. In Orangeburg, the schools have adopted a plan called "continuous progress" through which several changes in educational program were initiated. In an effort to achieve quality education for all children in the system, team teaching, clustering of classes, improved communication between school and home, and activities designed to build and utilize community pride were emphasized. In this latter connection, the contribution made by the emergence of a championship football team as a product of the combination of black and white high schools is not to be underrated. The pride that the community took in this achievement has probably contributed greatly to the acceptance of the desegreation program.

The desegregation process has not been without its problems, however. There are undercurrents of dissatisfaction with the continued control of the system by predominantly white administrators. The ratio of whites to blacks dropped sharply as whites fled the system, preferring private academies. However, this trend appears to be reversing itself as the viability of the fledgling institutions is increasingly questioned. The decision to utilize homogeneous ability grouping has resulted in

some resegregation. Fortunately, the presence of a relatively large proportion of middle class blacks has resulted in ethnic integration being maintained in the upper ability groups. The lowest ability groups, however, tend to be all black.

As serious as some of the problems may be, the effort is exemplary in commitment and program. It is too early to make sound judgments with respect to its impact on academic achievement, but the data available thus far are neutral to positive. There is no evidence that students have lost as a result of the change. If one of the purposes of education, however, is preparation for democratic living, there is evidence that democracy has gained at Orangeburg.